854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of latha—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

Albania

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Franciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Population and Religion

ALBANIA, according to the official census of May 15, 1930, has a population of 1,003,097, of whom 92 % are of Albanian race. Those living north of the Shkumbi line are Ghegs and those to the south are Tosks. The rest of 8% being Vlachs, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Gypsies, etc. About 1,250,000 Albanians are living in foreign countries, principally in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Egypt. Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Some 69% of the total population are Moslems; about 10% chiefly in the north, are Roman Catholics; another 20% (approximately) particularly in the south, belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church. There are about one hundred Hebrews living in Albania.

The Moslems are in the majority in all prefectures except in that of Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra), where the Orthodox are predominant, and that of Scutari (Shkodra), where the Catholics are in the majority. In

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

162 Korça, Berat and Vlona, the Orthodox are also numerous.

795 The Albanian Orthodox Church came into existence in 1922, after the Congress of Berat, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Church has four metropolitans: Durazzo, Berat, Argyrocastro and Korça. The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop are at Scutari, and there are five Catholic bishoprics scattered throughout the country.

It is known that Christianity came early to Albania for St. Paul says, "Round about Illyria have I fully preached the Gospel of Christ." The Albanians claim him as the first missionary among them.

771 Although religion is a strong force with the Albanians, it does not interfere with their patriotism and powerful nationalism. In the face of a demand on their loyalty Moslem, Roman Catholic and Albanian Orthodox become brothers in one cause.

It can be said that Albania is the only country in Europe where there is no religious dissension; they have always remained united at every period of their national history.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

POPULATION AND RELIGION

Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 inhabitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by them in the harem before they are submitted to the head of the family and communicated to the parties most nearly interested. Children are frequently betrothed before they are ten years of age, and occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, however, the arrangement is kept secret from the couple until the young man is in a position to marry. This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian youths marrying in the towns to which they resort for employment. A refusal on the part of a young man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare, for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality national usage decrees that the younger brothers and sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matrimonial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, it is not customary to require a portion with the bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father or brothers for a sum of money which varies according to the wealth and standing of the respective families. The parents of the maiden, however, besides providing the materials for her trousseau, supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally computed at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputation of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassadors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided

7: Amesy G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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[728] towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which
101 served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

101 The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who
● 162 equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[197] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

[1] [Author must mean westward. - Analyst]

RITUAL LIFE

[124] FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3. All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Al-
793 bania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were
[792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox. how or why I could not discover.

[See cat 11b, p. 35c--Analyst]

795 of his predecessors, to Cairo with them. Although for two generations the royal family has abjured the Bektashi tenets and worshipped according to Hanafi rites, the shrine and its occupants remain. Young men who wish to become dervishes go, if they are able, to Cairo,

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FIG. 3. Territorial distribution of religions.

[191] and receive their instruction at the central shrine. That is why many of the dervishes in Ghegnia spoke Arabic, and had some knowledge of other Moslem countries. Besides the [192] village dervishes, the Bektashis have a number of monasteries, located in Has and Malsia e Jakovës. We measured the abbot of one of them, who was a Has man.

142 transportation of soft bread from town bakeries to the villages? I leave the answer to this question to the experts in the dental field.

BITE AND GEOGRAPHY

162 Table 18 gives the tribal distribution of bite types. In this feature the tribes vary greatly, and some of the differences are highly significant, as for example that between Mirdita and Luma in edge-to-edge, which runs to 6.48 times p.e. Mirdita is by far strongest in edge-to-edge, which seems in general to go with the

[See cat 116, P. 82a -- Analyst]

Table 18: Bite

Tribal Distribution of Types

	Total	Under		Edge-to-Edge		Slightly over		Marked-Over		Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Series	1067	14		524		480		10		39	
MeM	105	2	1.90	56	53.33	43	40.95	0		4	3.81
Duk	106	0		60	56.60	46	43.40	0		0	
MeJ	104	2	1.92	35	33.65	67	64.42	0		0	
Has	114	3	2.63	73	64.04	30	26.32	1	.88	7	6.14
Lum	109	1	.92	31	28.44	68	62.39	4	3.67	5	4.59
Puk	102	4	3.92	37	36.27	59	57.84	1	.98	1	.98
Mir	101	2	1.98	70	69.31	19	18.81	2	1.98	8	7.92
Zad	105	0		49	46.67	51	48.57	0		5	4.76
Mat	104	0		51	49.04	51	49.04	0		2	1.92
Dib	108	0		58	53.70	42	38.89	2	1.85	6	5.56

Bite and Religion

	Catholic		Moslem		Both		Proportions of E-E-S-O.	
	E-E	St.-O.	E-E	St.-O.	Others		Cath.	Moslem
MeM	27	23	29	20	6		54	59
Duk	60	46	0	0	0		56	—
MeJ	9	7	26	60	1		56	70
Has	8	3	65	27	11		67	71
Lum	0	0	31	68	10		—	31
Puk	11	24	26	25	6		44	52
Mir	70	19	0	0	22		79	—
Zad	45	42	4	9	5		52	31
Mat	4	6	47	45	2		40	51
Dib	0	0	58	42	8		—	58
Intertr.	2	2	7	7	2		50	50
Total	236	172	293	303	63	1067	58	49

8;Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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most remote geographical fastnesses, except for Has. With the same exception, the north-eastern tribes are highest in slight overbites. One might at first suppose that the Catholics were the edge-to-edge people, but in 5 out of the 6 tribes where both faiths are followed, the Moslems have a higher edge-to-edge ratio. In the sixth, Malsia e Jakovës, the Catholics

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*128 form a special regional population, that of Nikaj and Merturi, just over the divide from Shoshi and Shala. Bite cannot be shown to have anything to do with ritual food taboos at all. Nor should one expect this, for the chief difference in diet lies in the species of animal eaten, while the food that takes the most chewing, bread, is the same for both in any given region.

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What this distribution seems to show more than anything else is that slight overbites tend to favor the big eastern market towns and the center of the Roman road. Puka lies at the middle of this road, and Puka has a commercial bakery. Luma has several at Kukës, and others do business at Prizren and Peshkopia. These commercial bakeries turn out a softer product

162 than home ovens, at least in my experience.
142 Why then, has Has one of the highest ratios
#128 of edge-to-edge bite, when the very men measured at Has were drawn from villages of hereditary commercial bakers? The answer to this lies in the age distribution. Twenty-eight men of the Has sample fell into age group 30–39. Of these, 13 had edge-to-edge bites, 14 slightly-over, and one marked-over. The

142 edge-to-edge ratio for this age grade is 48. In
162 Luma, which stands at the other end of the
#28 scale in bite form, 25 men in the same age grade had 11 edge-to-edge, 13 slightly-over, and one under. This gives a ratio of 46. If one counts marked-over with slightly-over and under with edge-to-edge, the ratios are reversed. The bakers were simply older men.

Much more research needs to be done if we are to explain the incidences of kinds of occlusion among Mountain Ghegs. All this report can possibly accomplish is to serve as a reconnaisance for specialists.

BITE AND FACE HEIGHTS

000 We have seen in chapter 11, "Age," page 74,[1] that unlike most other parts of the body, the face keeps on growing throughout life. In old age, however, this growth is often offset by the deterioration and loss of the teeth. As the teeth wear down and drop out, the dental borders of both maxillae and mandible shrink through absorption, and the chin and nose approach each other. These compensatory processes, face growth and dental attrition, do not necessarily move apace. Among some individuals the teeth remain sound until late in life; in others they deteriorate early. These differences thus affect not only means but also dispersions and measures of variability, including the probable error. In a series which includes a large percentage of men who have reached middle age, or in one in which poor teeth are common at any age, some method must be found to eliminate this source of error.
125 Being aware of this problem before leaving for Albania, I included in the measurement blank the observations *face shortening due to wear*, and *face shortening due to loss and absorption.* It was easier to observe dental condition with this problem in mind than to make general

1 [See cat. 116, p. 746 -- Analyst]

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). Plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EGI

sia in 1945. A republic was established during the following year. General Hoxha and his followers meanwhile made no secret of their devotion to the Communist cause, although their utterances took on the usual protective coloring. At a Congress in the little town of Permeti, on May 24, 1944, the Front had "guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience, and equality of rights for all religions." Hoxha's partisans, like Tito's, were frequently seen at religious services. Albania, a turbulent and weapon-toting country addicted to blood feuds and similar practices, was one of the most tolerant of nations from the religious point of view. In 1930 nearly three-fifths of the total population of 1,003,000 were Mohammedans, while the members of the Greek Orthodox Church constituted another fifth. Catholics in union with Rome were noticeably in the minority, scarcely more than one-tenth of the professedly religious reported in the census, and were concentrated in the extreme north of the country. Their major religious, charitable, and educational institutions were in Scutari, an ancient town on a beautiful mountain-surrounded lake, afflicted with mosquitoes and malarial fever. Ancient ties with Italy, which Mussolini so wantonly divested of moral and diplomatic import, had led to the existence of a considerable number of religious of Italian origin in Albania, and also to the settlement of many Albanians in Italy. This fact would no doubt have given rise to some antipathy even under normal conditions. Yet on the whole few in Albania were apprehensive when the war ended. The age-old tradition of religious peace seemed to preclude violent change.

Albania had a rude awakening. General Hoxha was interested in nothing less than freedom of religion. Information concerning the fate of the Moslem majority is meager and difficult to come by. But laborious piecing together of news items from Albanian radio broadcasts and newspapers makes